

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

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Topics of the Month

MUCH as we should prefer this month to talk over some of the other problems facing us, the Movement apparently has not yet tired of Clay Cross. The Editor, we are told in several quarters, is expected this month to have his say, but if the Movement is satisfied — and undoubtedly it is — what matters? And yet there are some lessons.

Clay Cross admittedly was a famous victory. The outstanding feature of the result was the failure of the Communists to save their deposit. And while we would not grudge a generous commiseration with the mistaken people on whom this fact imposes a financial difficulty, we unhesitatingly regard it as the most satisfactory feature of the fight. Clay Cross, as we shall show presently, was favourable ground for Communist propaganda. In other countries, Communism may have made headway; in Germany it went its full length and is prostrate to the floor. But in Britain, with unusual advantages on their side we perceive the failure, up to now at any rate, to make serious inroads into the great mass vote of a typical mining constituency.

There had been for some time a small Communist organisation in the Division and talk of a Communist candidate. After announcing their candidate the Communists changed their front and brought into the field a man who is admittedly their best candidate. Labour had decided to lie low until the holidays were passed. Not so the Communists. Into the field they came in unexampled numbers. The Communist Party of Great Britain mobilised early for the job, not as Jack Jones used to say, "the whole

half-dozen of them," but in far greater numbers, and for a fortnight they had the field practically to themselves. They had five Sundays too, for Labour held no Sunday meetings. And the weather was all on the side of the kind of campaign which was once peculiar to ourselves, but is now much more peculiar to Mr. Pollitt and his friends. They spent money, and apparently plenty of it, and they had cars. So much then for any suggestion that the Communists did not or could not put out all they knew to secure the success of their candidate. We could go further and relate the scandalous mis-statements and misrepresentations which were the stock-in-trade of their campaign. But that seems to go without saying, and we will lay no more emphasis upon it.

But the factor which we wish to point out, and the lesson we would draw, relates to another matter altogether, and here we utter a solemn warning to the Movement. Clay Cross is a mass vote constituency. Broadly speaking, one corner of the Division has been regarded as solidly Tory, and there has remained a sprinkling of Tory business and colliery votes in the rest of the constituency, the mass of the people being solidly Labour. Here is a situation the parallel of which is to be found in most mining constituencies. But how has this mass vote come into being? The answer to that question is the rise of the M.F.G.B. to power, and the story of the struggles of the miners during the past fifteen years. It is an instinctive vote, rather than a vote such as one finds elsewhere in other types of constituencies where the Labour vote is the result of uphill Labour and Socialist propaganda carried on for many years.

To say this is not to deny that Socialist propaganda has taken place

and that it has leavened the mass to some extent. This certainly is the case, and in the front of the Local Party there are a number of keen Socialists who know their Socialism and appreciate the position. But that does not alter the fact that the mass is an instinctive Labour vote, and not a hard-won converted vote. Now consider the opportunities that this situation presents to the Communists if they can spread dissent, distrust, disruption and disintegration among the voters; if the latter are told their idol has feet of clay; if the defeat and present distress of the miners can be attributed to the men they have trusted; and if the feelings of the younger and more vigorous men can be played upon, and they can be led to believe that there is a shorter and quicker road to Socialism through more vigorous action, even if that means insurrection and revolution. We say without fear of contradiction that mass vote constituencies of this type are the most vulnerable parts of Labour's front to-day. They can be stampeded, and once the mass sways there is no knowing what may happen. At Clay Cross the Communists knew their cards and they played them. There is no harm in saying this to-day and that we also knew the situation. And though the fact that we have won may be satisfactory, the danger which we point to remains in Clay Cross as elsewhere. The Movement must do something about it.

Here we may be forgiven for a digression into details which also bear a moral. In the majority of mass vote constituencies—perhaps we ought to say mining constituencies—there is no large voluntary band of workers, such as are found in most average places. Usually the Party is relatively small. There are volunteers certainly, and some of the best material in the country has been discovered from among the miners—leaders, speakers, organisers and M.P.'s. But in most such constituencies the vote is polled in a different way from that which is customary in other constituencies. When the miners were prosperous, they could afford to pay for services rendered, and the vote in the majority of mining constituencies is to-day and has nearly always been polled by a paid machine on polling day. Canvassing with its concomitant necessities such as marked registers and the

picking out of "Fors," is an uncommon practice. The vote is polled door-to-door. There is a solid vote, and the checkers seek to poll the population—barring, of course, the few and isolated Tories. Observe now that if the Communists can break our front to any appreciable degree they throw on us the necessity for creating an entirely different type of election machine from that which has been customary in this type of constituency. Canvassing must be done; "Fors" must be picked out, and an elaboration begins which has been unknown before. We point this out because if our mass votes are threatened or disintegrate, parties must face up to the necessity of training workers to work a different kind of machine from that which they have hitherto been accustomed to. And it is better to anticipate the occasion than to be too late.

And some suggestions? We desire to say frankly that we believe there is at present no quick road to remedy a situation which we allege is general in mining constituencies. What is wanted of course is a great trained and educated individual membership—a functioning of Local Parties, Women Sections and League of Youth Branches, with regular meetings, constant local propaganda, and intensive study of Labour and Social problems, coupled to the training of speakers and thinkers. But this is not going to be done in a day. Adverting to Clay Cross again, some of the leading people in the Party have long been aware of the desirable ends we have enumerated, and have done their best. Special conferences of this and neighbouring constituencies were actually convened a year or two ago to consider the very problems we have enumerated, and a series of meetings were held at which the points were stressed by Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, among others. But in the future some special aid must be accorded to such constituencies in their endeavours to get Local Parties actually functioning in the way we have indicated. Endeavours must be made to kill the notion that a mass vote is a safe vote, and the mass must be weaned from instinct into reason, and from reason into energy. It must display all-the-year-round enthusiasm for the great cause which binds it together.

It would be unfair to conclude these notes without the appropriate votes of thanks. Congratulations have showered upon the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and they have also showered upon his Agent, the Editor of this journal. Well, "we" are too old to heed. Criticisms also always come. Thanks are due all the other way round. In the first place there was a gallant little band in the constituency itself which nobly did its duty. We would especially mention the Divisional Secretary, Mr. J. W. French, whose preparations wonderfully assisted, and whose return to the contest after a holiday was an inspiration to the Election Agent. There were others, but may we take the Secretary as their representative? Then there were neighbours from constituencies not far off — not "foreigners" we hope, but men and women who responded, as Labour nowadays always does, at a by-election, to the call from the scene of action — there was one young man who cycled every day from Sheffield and remained at his own cost. There were speakers who rolled up and came from far and near; there were people who lent cars, and last but not least there were people who were paid for the services that they rendered. We do not know that that help was anywhere less *because* of payment: in the constituency there are terrible times. We gladly thank them all.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

"The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe To-day," by G. D. H. and M. I. Cole. Price six shillings. Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Uniform with the "Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Chaos" published earlier in the year. A profoundly interesting and critical analysis of the situation in Europe to-day. But the conclusions which the Coles arrive at are none too optimistic, and who doubts that their dubiety is justified? Europe to-day is a kaleidoscope, but this book does serve the purpose of bringing the whole into review and of bringing one up-to-date, almost, with the manifold changes in the complex situations of so many quarters

"The Blindness of Poverty," by Louis Anderson Fenn, M.Sc. Price two-and-six. Williams and Norgate, Ltd.

This is one of three little volumes offered as a contribution to the current discussion of world affairs. The writer writes interestingly and is cheerful even with this cheerless topic.

"Money and Wealth," by Louis Anderson Fenn, M.Sc. Price two-and-six. Williams and Norgate, Ltd.

The subject is not over-elaborated, and the book may be read by those unable to buy or indisposed to read the large works given in the bibliography.

"The Project of a Planned World," by Louis Anderson Fenn, M.Sc. Price two-and-six. Williams and Norgate, Ltd.

Decidedly not an original subject. The writer says, "The intellectual challenge of the convinced revolutionist is not being adequately made by most people to-day," and that, when one looks at Europe, and further afield, and regards Fascist, Communist and Revolutionary changes, coupled to the activities of each of these sections here at home, appears to be a literal truth. The book in short is a plea for the attainment of our Utopia through the process for which the Labour Party stands.

"The Communist Solar System." Price twopence. Published by the Labour Party.

A timely, if not long overdue frontal exposure and attack on Communist methods. The pamphlet should have a large and ready sale. So far we have heard many appreciations of its publication. 100 copies cost twelve shillings.

"Labour"—a magazine for all workers. Price threepence monthly. National Joint Council, Transport House, London, S.W.1.

The first number (September) of Labour's new omnibus publication is to hand. We are pleased with the get-up, illustrations and general effectiveness of what seems a worthy publication. It may be difficult to maintain the present standard, but if that is maintained a large and influential sale should result. We have heard the criticism that in the amalgamation of the several Labour publications now embodied in one journal, the "Bulletin" seems to have been submerged. Certainly statistical information does not receive much space in the new journal, and the value of data to speakers, thinkers and administrators in the Labour Movement must not be under-estimated. There is an attempt to distribute and "popularise" this subject so that after all the "Bulletin" does survive, but not to the extent which would please some of our acquaintances.

"The New Nation." Price three halfpence. Published by the Labour Party.

The September issue of the "New Nation" is the first of an enlarged and improved series. Armed with such a paper the present numerical strength of the League of Youth should rapidly improve.

"Labour's Call to Youth," by Maurice Webb. Price one penny. The Labour Party.

This stirring and timely pamphlet should have a great sale. 100 copies cost six shillings.

ALSO RECEIVED.

The Labour Party Policy Report No. 5: "Socialism and the Condition of the People."

The Labour Party Policy Report No. 6: "The Colonies."

The Labour Party Policy Report No. 7: "Housing and Slums."

"Workers' Control and Self-Government in Industry," by G. D. H. Cole and W. Mellors." The New Fabian Research Bureau, 17, John Street, W.C.1.

"The Control of Investment," by Colin Clark (uniform with above).

"The Moscow Trial," compiled by W. P. Coates, with a preface by A. G. Walkden. Price one-and-six. The Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee.

"More Anti-Soviet Lies Nailed," by W. P. Coates, with a preface by the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P. Price threepence. The Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee.

"Socialist Policy and the Problem of the Food Supply," by the Rt. Hon. Dr. C. Addison. Price twopence. The Socialist League.

"Wealth, Waste and Want," by Eric F. Bellchambers. Price threepence. Wolverton and District Trades Council and Labour Party.

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A CREDITABLE LOCAL LABOUR PAPER.

Our congratulations to the Bolton "Citizen" (Editor, Coun. H. Eastwood) on the production of a highly improved issue of this monthly Labour journal. If the improvements made in a recent issue can be maintained the Bolton "Citizen" will shortly take first place among Labour monthly papers, for illustrations, paper and contents are all above the average. The following are some words of wisdom reprinted from the last issue of hand.

WHAT IS BEING SAID.

"A General Election in the winter this year is by no means impossible."
—Sir Herbert Samuel.

"The Lancashire County Council is the meanest local authority in England."
—R. J. Davis, M.P.

"Local Labour papers represent one of the most effective forms of social advertising." — From a Press report of an advertising conference.

"Unless the workers use the Labour Party as their instrument of expression they will speedily lose many of the Insurance benefits." — Insurance General Secretary of one of the largest Trade Unions.

"A penny per week contribution as a member of the Labour Party in any town is the finest possible means of

securing a Labour Government at the next election."—J. W. Kneeshaw.

"A General Election may come at any time next year. All constituencies should be ready for any emergency."—G. R. Shepherd.

"The Bolton 'Citizen' is the best little paper of its kind in the country."—Sir Ben Turner, J.P.

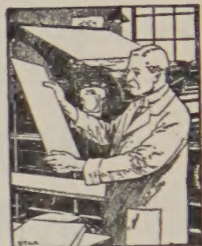
"There is no joy in life except secured by social service."—The Rev. J. R. Campbell.

"War is murder. Soldiers are pawns in the hands of diplomats."—Major-General Hamilton.

"The best retort to Hitlerism in Britain is individual membership of the Labour Party." — George Lansbury.

NOTES and NOTIONS

PROVED, POOLED, PROOFED
AND PRINTED



In another column we reproduce an effective circular issued by the Reading Labour Party in connection with the League of Youth Campaign. Our reproduction however, does not do this circular justice, for it has been got up most effectively in two colours, while coloured splashers across the the back of the circular vividly call attention to the matter. Our reproduction also is hampered by considerations of space, the actual circular occupies both sides of a quarto. The circular is apparently left door-to-door in an envelope which bears the following message:—

**DO YOU VOTE LABOUR ?
YES !**

THEN READ THE ENCLOSED.

It is from the Reading Labour League of Youth, the "Live Wire" Organisation !

Not a little of the credit due to the success in Clay Cross must be attributed to the use of loud speakers. An excellent model was lent to the election by a London firm, while the Ilkeston Divisional Labour Party generously placed its loud speaker at the disposal of the candidate, and yeoman work was done by two comrades who accompanied it. Exceptional mention must also be made to the help given in this respect by Mr. Norman Mickle, the Labour Parliamentary candidate for Bedford. We recently learnt that Mr. Mickle, who is himself an expert in these matters, uses a transportable model fixed on his car for touring the villages in his constituency. The car goes at a slow pace and a running address is given,

while occasional music adds to the attractiveness of the programme. Mr. Mickle, who was accompanied by Mrs. Mickle, gave ungrudging service in the Clay Cross by-election, and his equipped car was a feature of the campaign. Mr. and Mrs. Mickle must have covered some hundreds of miles during the period, and their help was effective, not only in attracting crowds, but in enabling the speaker's message to reach the population. The Bedford Division is to be congratulated on the choice of a candidate, who not only displays in himself the highest ethics of our cause, but who can assist towards success in such a practical manner.

The Rawtenstall Borough Labour Party will, if success attends them on September 21st, 22nd and 23rd, have made a departure which will set an example to the whole Movement. On these dates an Arts and Crafts Exhibition is to be held, and we have been astonished at the syllabus of competitions embodying as it does, competitions under the headings of Arts and Crafts, Music, Elocution and Dancing, Photography, Needlework, Confectionery and Woodwork. Under each section mentioned, there are a number of competitions including a number for children. The exhibition appears to have been organised with great skill, and the details have been admirably thought out. We would very much have liked to produce the whole syllabus of competitions, but our readers will gather something of the scope of this three days' affair when we mention that it would take more than two full pages of the "Labour Organiser" to print in close type the complete list of competitions. We shall look forward with exceptional

interest to a report of this affair, and we earnestly trust that it will be a signal success, and therefore an encouragement to others. The Secretary of the Rawtenstall B.L.P. is Mr. J. H. Boden, 1, Church Street, Crawshaw Booth.

Mr. W. J. Irving, the Agent and Secretary of the North Tottenham Labour Party, has compiled an exhaustive analysis of the register of electors in the North Tottenham Division. The register is analysed to show in each section the number of roads, houses, Parliamentary and Local Government electors, and the results of successive ascertainment, showing Party membership, Trades Union membership and "Fors." This is a remarkable piece of work, and our readers will be interested in the following extract which shows the position in three polling districts. The analysis has been carried further to show similar information in respect of each road or street. That this is not mere office organisation is shown by the following figures.

Polling		Electors		
District.	Roads.	Houses.	Parl.	Local.
A.	36	1566	4392	3441
B.	30	1961	4927	3760
C.	34	1295	4132	2886
Members				
Co-op.	Lap.	P.	Trade Un.	Supporters.
861	148	44	2332	
1042	131	42	2197	
599	50	34	1789	

We note that in the Balham and Tooting Division, no fewer than 11,114 persons appear on the list of newly qualified persons. By the way, a garden fête and fair has been organised in this Division for September 15th and 16th, and we gather from the programme that this is to be a pretty large and effective affair, in which every section of the Party shares a responsibility. We note that the judge in the Beauty Competition for ladies is Mrs. J. L. Adamson. Man's last prerogative is apparently now gone—in Balham and Tooting!

The Bosworth D.L.P. have again organised a Harvest Festival. We have mentioned this annual affair in previous issues of the "Labour Organiser," and the event which is to take place on September 16th, is well and effectively advertised.

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56, Minster Street,
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September, 1933.

To all Supporters of the Labour Party.

Have you heard of the Labour League of Youth? It is the organisation for young people who have enough brains to see what is wrong with our system of Society and desire to change it sensibly, sanely and without bloodshed, riots and civil war.

Who can Join the League of Youth?

- Anyone over 16 and under 30 who supports the Labour Party can become a member.

How much does it cost?

- Sixpence per quarter—that's all!

What does the League do?

- It holds regular meetings, discussions, debates and lectures on the social and economic problems of the day. It arranges outings, rambles and camps in the summer, and dances and socials in the winter. It provides a fine fellowship, makes friendships, gives young folk the chance to do something really worth while with their spare time. Its members take part in the work of the Labour Party, help to organise election campaigns and meetings for propaganda. . . . In short, the League is a real tonic for any young man or woman who is not a nitwit and wants to do something with his or her life.

What does the League stand for?

- Planned production to ensure plenty for all with shorter hours and high wages.
No more war.
Public ownership and control of industry and wealth.
World disarmament.
Political liberty for all people.
In a word—SOCIALISM—the planned State in which poverty is abolished and production is for *use* and not for profit.

ARE YOU ELIGIBLE TO JOIN? IS THERE ANYONE IN YOUR HOME OR ANY RELATION OR FRIEND YOU THINK MIGHT LIKE TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE?

Think it over! Perhaps you yourselves have passed the age limit, but maybe you have a son or daughter whom you would like to see in some worth-while group, mixing with new and exciting friends, doing new and exciting things and enjoying it.

Perhaps you who read this are eligible for membership. Why not fill in the form enclosed and give the League a trial? You can get something more out of life than work, bed and the pictures. History is being made. All over the world systems are crashing and being remoulded. Civilisation is at the cross roads and stirring times are ahead. Will you be just one of the mob, or will you become a leader? Are you content to go on waiting for a crash and hoping for the best, or will you become a League member and help to make the best certain for all?

- The future belongs to the keen young men and women of to-day.
- Get inside the League of Youth and help to fight reaction, defunct, out-of-date and hopeless Toryism, and repressive, liberty-destroying Fascism. Help to build the new Social Order. Build! Plan! Organise! Fight for Socialism! Prove that Youth can solve the troubles which beset the World!

Take the first step towards joining the League by filling in the enclosed form to-day.

JOIN the League and get out of the Rut.

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Notes from an Agent's Desk

By JACK CUTTER.

In Darkest England.

I write this article while still on holiday away in the south of the country, right in the centre of a mighty slice of England in which Labour Agents can be counted on the fingers of one hand, leaving enough fingers left over to play "Land of Dope and Tory" on the piano.

West Sussex, Hants, Oxon, Berks, Bucks, Dorset: in all that tract of forest, down, grazeland and foreshore I can think of only one constituency with a full-time agent (excluding Portsmouth and Southampton).

I have helped to beat out heath fires (on common land only, mark you) alongside locals with the outlook of mediaeval villeins. They were vastly relieved that the fires were not on his Lordship's preserves and I firmly believe they would rather have seen their own miserable cottages burned to the ground than a few of his Lordship's partridges (or whatever they are) endangered.

Marvellous! Wonderful! Wierd! These chaps live in another world. Yet we have to make Socialists out of a goodly number of them.

Here and there in the small country towns are handfuls of the faithful and they will tell you of the great possibilities of the constituency. If only we had an organiser, they say, we could have a good organisation here in a year.

More than once I heard the argument that an organiser should be appointed for the county, or at least for two or three contiguous divisions and I have noticed that quite a number of rural constituencies have mooted this idea of late. Personally, I believe that the proper care and organisation of one division is as much as any one man can manage and I pity the lot of the poor chap with more than one division on his shoulders. Each division would inevitably think the other was receiving the greater part of the organiser's attention and favour.

It would be fine if the Party were in a financial position to open a county office and instal a county organiser in each county and perhaps we shall reach this ideal before long, but meanwhile those rural divisions who are certain that a year's effort would produce the goods and build up an

organisation sufficient to guarantee security to an organiser thenceforth might consider ways and means of making the appointment possible.

For instance, there are surely many divisions where it might be possible to get, say, 200 supporters to agree to pay into a special fund 6d. a week for a year. This would guarantee an agent's wage for twelve months and allow him time to build up his organisation.

Some divisions might find it difficult to trace 200 supporters with 6d. a week to spare, but might have several supporters who are a little better off than the average and who would be prepared to subscribe more than the 6d. for such a cause.

No constituency, however, should ever bank on such a scheme without reasonable certainty that it could be kept up — justifiable by potential results. Despite all evidence to the contrary, Labour agents are human beings and entitled to a reasonable guarantee of security and leisure. (Any more of this ironic laughter from my colleagues and they will be reported to annual conference.)

I confess I do not advocate such a scheme with wild enthusiasm, but think it preferable to joint appointments or alleged "part"-time jobs, and there may be just one or two rural constituencies where it could be applied successfully.

Another Sort of Unemployed Card.

I came across a useful gadget the other day used by the Industrial Section of a Labour Party which devotes a good deal of attention to the care of its unemployed members. It was a card to be taken by unemployed men when applying for jobs. It was spaced for entering the date, the name of the firm to which application had been made and the remarks of the manager or foreman. I was told that foremen, as a general rule, were quite willing either to stamp the card with the firm's stamp or append their signature as a guarantee that the applicant had called. Some wrote "Repeated applications" or "Regularly calls." These cards were of the greatest value to the holder when appearing before a Court of Referees and I learned that the Umpire has expressed his

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appreciation, saying that they were of the greatest possible value to the appellant's case.

... And Forth the Banners Went.

Quite a number of Trade Union Propaganda Weeks have been held during the summer and most of them have been successful. The T.U.C. General Council's Organising Department has co-operated in a really helpful way by supplying suitable literature, assisting in the drafting of organisers to the district and arranging for the presence of what our members will insist on calling a "National Speaker."

In one town the Industrial Delegates, in an enthusiastic mood, decided to wind up the week with a procession. The Secretary knew something about these Trade Union processions, however, and was aware that to persuade the British working man to be demonstrative enough to walk in large numbers behind a banner was a most difficult task unless there was a strike or lock-out in the offing. He realised also that to have a procession consisting only of the band, banner bearers and marshals was courting ridicule and would do the movement no good.

So he appealed to the political wing and the Women's Co-operative Guild to come along, join in the procession and make it a "Real Workers' United

Front" Demonstration. He asked the Women's Sections to make a flag or banner for each Ward Committee, a task which they undertook with gusto. Then requesting the members of the Wards to line up behind their own banner, he splashed a few ads. about and hoped for the best.

The result was a procession one-third of a mile long with 17 banners making a brave show. Four big Trade Union banners came first behind the band, 12 ward banners and the Women's Co-op. Guild Emblem followed each preceding its own contingent. It was a really creditable show, but the blunt fact is that half the personnel of the procession was female. When it comes to being wonderful our Labour women can leave your London policemen miles behind. The scheme is to be repeated again next year when it is hoped that the success of this year's procession will persuade a few of the Trade Unionists who stood on the pavement watching it go by, that their place is behind the banners.

I'll be seeing you at Hastings.

Bootle Labour Party's membership has been increased from 200 to 2,300 in the last year and it is intended by the end of the year there shall be 4,500. Mr. J. Kinley in an interview given in the Manchester edition of the *Daily Herald* said, "We have banded together a team of 54 collectors in the six municipal wards and we hope to increase this team to 200 before 1934. We have decided to ask the Bootle Trades Council and Labour Party to recognise these workers as a separate part of the movement, to allow them to appoint their own officers and to set up an efficient organisation to deal with the membership and propaganda side."

DID IT COST THEM THEIR DEPOSIT?

(See next page.)

Our readers will be interested in the reproduction on next page of a last-minute leaflet issued in the Clay Cross by-election and known widely as the "yellow" leaflet.

Despite their description of Mr. Henderson as a "murderer" and other foul infamies, the Communists showed great anger over this publication. But what was it in the leaflet that got under the thick skin of the Communists of Great Britain?

THE EYES of the WORLD are on CLAY CROSS

To the Electors of Clay Cross Division,

Carry on ! One more day and Henderson's victory will be here.

In twenty-four hours the Communists will fold their tents and silently steal away.

Lies, calumny, abuse and misrepresentation have been their stock-in-trade.

Yet they are cowards, for when challenged by Mr. Henderson to repeat their statements at Henderson's meetings the Communists have funkcd. They have been too cowardly to face his answer. Cowardice and Communism go hand in hand.

COMMUNISM stands for civil war, brother against brother, bloodshed, tyranny and horror. Communists may j profit—you must suffer.

HENDERSON stands for Peace, for Socialism, a grand reconstruction of society, and a People's Triumph by peaceful means.

CHOOSE WHERE YOU STAND.

The Labour Party confidently appeals to the Electors of Clay Cross to give **HENDERSON** such a Victory as will

CLEAN UP CLAY CROSS AND CLEAR OUT THE COMMUNISTS

To remind you :—

ARTHUR HENDERSON, more than any living man, deserves the Votes and Confidence of the Electors of Clay Cross—**HIS LIFE'S WORK SPEAKS FOR THAT !**



LAW AND PRACTICE



FOR LOCAL LABOUR NEWS-PAPER MANAGERS.

The Law of Advertisements.

We have frequently been consulted by promoters of local Labour newspapers regarding difficulties in the collection of advertisement accounts. Inexperience in dealing with advertisers is responsible for a good deal of trouble, and not the least of the difficulties experienced is that of knowing when and how to render accounts for series advertisements. The following extract from Jones' "Law of Advertisements" will be of some service to the readers mentioned.

"As a rule, a properly drawn advertisement order provides for the amount and the period of payment agreed on for the insertion of the advertisement. Where the document contains no reference either to the amount or to the period of payment, evidence of the usages of the trade would be admissible on the point, and the owner of the paper or magazine where the advertisement appeared must charge only what is reasonable. A different question arises where the agreement specifies either the amount of each insertion or the total amount for the series of advertisements, but makes no provision for the period or mode of payment. Can the publisher of the advertisement in such a case sue for any portion of the money before the series is completed? Or must the advertisements appear for the whole period before any money becomes due? The first question to determine is whether the contract is entire or divisible. If the contract be entire, no money is due till the contract is completed. If, on the other hand, the contract is divisible, payments may be enforced before the series is completed. If A undertakes to shave B and demands payment

when he has only shaved one side of B's face, he can recover nothing till he completes the job he has undertaken to do. It has long been laid down that an entire job cannot be apportioned. Where S. claimed £5 for repairing B's chandeliers, and B proved that S's agreement was to make the chandeliers complete for £10 judgment was given for B. If, however, the contract or its consideration be divisible, the entire job may be separated into portions, which may be sued upon before the series is complete. R. undertook to put H's ship into thorough repair. When he had partly carried out his undertaking R demanded payment for what he had done, and refused to complete the work unless he was paid. H. refused to pay him till the whole job was done. The courts held that this was not a specific job for a specific sum, and that there was no undertaking in the contract to make no demand for payment till the work was complete.

Performance of the whole work is not a condition precedent to the payment of any part of the price unless both price and work are specified. The best illustrations of divisible promises can be found in contracts to receive and pay for goods by instalments. The question to be answered in all these cases is one of fact; the answer must depend on the circumstances of each case. This is substantially the mode in which the Legislature has stated the problem in the Sale of Goods Acts.

An order for a series of advertisements is analogous to an order for the supply of goods in the form of advertising space in the columns of a newspaper. Section 31 is framed on the assumption that the contract indicates the terms on which the "instalments" (of advertising spaces) are to

be supplied or paid for. In each case the circumstances proved at the trial determine the result. Where it is proved that the contract is divisible, i.e., where the other party has derived some benefit from the part performance, it is clear that payments may be enforced before the end of the series. The presumption in such cases is that the parties intended payment to keep pace with the accrual of the benefit for which payment was to be made. The most analogous case to an advertisement order is that of *Lockwood v. Tunbridge Wells Local Board*.

A, a builder, had contracted to execute certain works for B at Pembury. Defendants, owners of a stone quarry, agreed to supply A with the stone required in the works. The terms of the contract were: "Supply me with the whole of the Sevenoaks stone required at the Pembury reservoir, the same to be clean, fit for use, and delivered into trucks of the railway company at Sevenoaks at 5s. 3d. per ton." Deliveries were made from time to time, and at the time the action was brought about one-third of the quantity of stone required had been delivered. It was contended for A that the contract was entire, and that payment under it did not become due until completion. *Huddleston, B.*, saying that the question turned on the intention of the parties, held that B was entitled to payment on delivery for the quantities delivered from time to time."

TIMES HAVE CHANGED.

Why Sub-Agents are Now Rarely Appointed.

When the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act of 1883 was passed, the means of communication were by no means so highly developed as now. The chief agent, for instance, could hardly reach every point of the constituency by means of the telephone, nor could he, as now, have his motor-car (or flying machine) waiting outside the central committee room. Hence the permissive provision in that Act for the appointment of a series of sub-agents, one for each polling district. There can be no sub-agents in boroughs. The sub-agent is in effect a local election agent, and is, subject to the instructions of the chief agent, the official head of his candidate's organisation in the district to which he is appointed. By

making a careful selection of the men for the sub-agencies, by marking out a general programme for their activity, and by allotting to each a specific sum (which must on no account be exceeded) from the statutory aggregate of expenses, the election agent can relieve himself of a vast amount of detail work. But he must bear in mind that he cannot repudiate the actions of his sub-agent. If the sub-agent commits an illegal act the candidate will have to pay the penalty, unless he can get relief. Section 25 (2) leaves no doubt on this point by enacting that any act or default of the sub-agent which would, if he were the election agent, be an illegal practice, or other offence against the Act, is in fact to operate just as if he were the election agent. Cases have come under my own notice where a sub-agent has engaged a committee room in a public house, in ignorance of the peremptory provision of Section 20 of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883, which makes it an illegal hiring to have a committee room in any building where refreshments are sold. In the candidate or the election agent an illegal hiring is an illegal practice, and therefore it is so in the sub-agent. There was another case where a sub-agent, on the day of the poll, noticed that the supply of conveyances had run short, and forthwith sent round to the local job-master and hired a cab in which to take electors to the poll. This man was perfectly honest in his ignorance. He entered the cost of the car (with a note of the purpose for which it was hired) in his election accounts, and thereby gave the chief election agent one of the worst shocks he ever experienced. In this instance application was made for relief, and, there being no opposition by the other side (since the sub-agent's conduct was apparently honest), it was granted as a matter of course. But had there been a petition this affair would, of course, have formed the subject of a charge of paying money for prohibited purposes, and the application for relief would have raised a multitude of issues, some of which might have led to its refusal, with fatal consequences to the candidate. For such reasons as these my personal opinion is that it is better to work without sub-agents.

In the various committee rooms where you would be entitled to place



*We have no Megaphone,
but we must make you know
that——*

OUR
COLLECTORS' BOOKS
for
Members' Contributions
were an instant success

Dozens of testimonials have been received concerning these books from Party agents and local secretaries. The First Edition sold right out. You will want these books if yours is a go-ahead party and if you want success.

Sample Book	2d. post free	50 Books	7/6 post free
12 Books ...	2/- „ „	75 „ ...	11/- „ „
24 „ ...	3/8 „ „	100 „ ...	14/9 „ „
36 „ ...	5/6 „ „	200 „ ...	27/6 „ „

Cash with Order.

Orders and remittances to

H. DRINKWATER, The "Labour Organiser,"
FERNHILL HEATH, nr. WORCESTER (Telephone :
Fernhill Heath 22), or

PUBLISHING OFFICE, "The Labour Organiser"
107 DALE END, BIRMINGHAM, 4. (Tel.: Central 0311)

YOUR PRINTING

will be dealt with
efficiently at the
Printing Works of

THE
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE
SOCIETY LIMITED

Send your next order to
your nearest C.W.S. Works.
The C.W.S. Works are
capable of dealing with all
kinds of printed matter for
THE LABOUR PARTY,
LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES
TRADE UNIONS, CO-OP-
ERATIVE & FRIENDLY
SOCIETIES, CLUBS, Etc.

Write to

C.W.S. PRINTING WORKS

HAMILTON ROAD, LONGSIGHT	-	MANCHESTER
GREG STREET, SOUTH REDDISH	-	STOCKPORT
WARRINGTON	- - -	LANCASHIRE
CRANBOURNE STREET	- - -	LEICESTER
PELAW	- - -	COUNTY DURHAM

a sub-agent you will do better to place either a clerk, or a local volunteer who has the capacity and the time to keep things on the move. Neither of these men has the plenary authority of the sub-agent; in fact, he should have no authority to incur any but trifling administrative expenses without the sanction of the chief election agent, or to embark upon any policy which may commit the candidate without the candidate's (or the election agent's) consent and approval. This is especially the case in the matter of bills and leaflets.

(From Practical Notes on Management of Elections, by Ellis T. Powell, LL.B., B.Sc.)

CANVASSING BY PAID ELECTION CLERK.

The question whether a paid election clerk is justified in canvassing is a question which has been often put to me at election times, and, acting upon the opinion of the present Master of the Rolls when Attorney-General, I have always advised that a paid election clerk may canvass in his spare time, but not as part and parcel of the duties of his office. In the Lichfield Petition Mr. Justice Bruce thus dealt with the facts of the case:—

"From the evidence before us I cannot entertain any doubt that Shakeshaft and Cheshire (the paid election clerks) were employed *systematically* in canvassing. Shakeshaft worked in Alrewas and Harlas-

ton. It is said that he was employed as a clerk. Cheshire was employed as a messenger in Armitage.

"Several persons who were called as witnesses proved that both Shakeshaft and Cheshire asked for their votes, went about with canvassing books, and acted as canvassers. This evidence might have been explained by showing that the particular acts deposed to *were exceptional and occasional only*.

I cannot help asking myself the question, 'Who did carry on the canvass? No volunteer canvassers are called, and I find it very difficult to accept the explanation.'

"It will be seen that Mr. Justice Bruce practically confirms the advice given by me, and that so long as the canvassing is not systematic or part of their regular work, but only auxiliary and voluntary, clerks may occasionally and intermittently be so employed. But when no volunteer canvassers work in the district it is inadvisable to pursue such a course."

The above comment is taken from "The Candidates' and Agents' Guide" (o.o.p.) and appeared in the "Labour Organiser" for November, 1923.

SEE PAGE 175.

We desire to draw the special attention of our readers to the admirable form reproduced on page 175. The use of a similar form for the promotion of Local Government candidates is to be commended.

A Poster Hint

Ways and means should be found of providing boards for displaying a double-demy or double-crown poster in friends' gardens or other prominent positions. The advertising value of the big hoarding unless the thing is done on a big scale—is sadly over-rated. Ordinary posters are lost and few people read them. People read pictures now and not posters. Something more is wanted than an occasional display of posters—continuity is needed in our advertising methods. Think of the publicity the party and the agents would get if only fifty posters were regularly and systematically displayed all the year round in every constituency. If a uniform size in boards and bills were adopted throughout the country it would pay the party's headquarters to supply smart and effective posters at regular intervals.

Again, it is essential that suitable posters be exhibited at *all* meetings and social functions. Take open-air meetings. The agent should never forget to put a bill up in front of the platform stating that—

THIS IS A.....MEETING
MR. NOW SPEAKING.

Most passers-by stop to read the notice, and although all of these do not stay to listen to the speeches, a momentary impression is better than no impression at all.

(From "Political Organisation, by J. H. Hill.)

A Fighter Tells His Story

By GEORGE W. BYWATER,
of Northrepps

After a lifetime's experience of urban and city electioneering it is a revelation to contest a Rural District seat in a backward area of a truly rural countryside.

Candidates who fight these backward areas may profit by perusing these notes.

The seat was held by a lady member of the plutocratic family who own this parish. She has held the seat for 13 years and has been returned unopposed every time but once, about 10 years ago, when Labour polled but 7 votes.

Our little local Labour Party decided to fight this time and I was chosen as the standard-bearer. It is an easy matter to decide to fight, but it is another question when one is asked to step into the firing line as a candidate.

Our first difficulty was getting my nomination paper signed. Even the Chairman of the local Labour Party refused to sign it. Others whom I approached would not touch it; would the names of the proposer and seconder be affixed on the church door and other public places in the village? My answer was that undoubtedly they would. That finished it: this publicity would reveal that they were against the "Lady Bountiful" of the village. It was touching to see the horror on the faces of many of the people whom I visited over the nominations when they knew what I was after. Eventually I found two "Dare-to-be-Daniels" who signed.

The next problem was the public meeting. The people were afraid to come and hear the Labour case, for it would be recorded against them that they had attended a Labour meeting.

Then getting out the election address—there was no money to post these to the 300 Local Government electors, because at present I am unfortunately on Unemployment Insurance Benefit. I solved this problem by delivering them along with our printed polling card myself.

As the day of the polling drew near our Tory opponent and her family's tenants and estate staff got busy with such energy that a casual

investigator might have thought that I was after the Bank of England or the American Presidency.

By now all my workers had faded away from me, the pace was too hot for them to be openly associated with a campaign to unseat the "Great Lady" from the baronial hall, but I stuck to the fight myself and worked with all possible vigour.

I was getting promises of votes, also many comments on having the temerity of standing against "The Lady Bountiful."

I knew the strength of my opponents, I knew they had a power over the lives of the villagers. I knew there was a loyalty to the family that had bled them for generations. In fact I knew what I was up against.

But polling day was a revelation indeed. We saw the machine at work, as if it were a parliamentary contest. My opponent had six cars at her disposal, and it was heart-breaking to see people glorying in the luxury of a limousine going to vote for the whip that flogs them.

During the hours of poll "Lady Bountiful" was ready with a smile and handshake to meet all the voters.

But I was not idle. I was busy rounding up. I believe I lost votes for myself by going to the doors of known supporters. I was told *not* to come any more because I could be seen by "Lady Bountiful." Consequently, they did not register their votes either for or against. Some people actually locked their doors on my approach, afraid of being seen in conversation with me.

The tyranny of the countryside is still a real thing. The people are not yet convinced that the ballot is a secret. Apathy is a chronic disease; people are more concerned about their cabbage patch than the miserable local scales of relief when one has to work a full week for 24s. Yet the fight was worth while, it resulted in a poll of 39 per cent. for Labour and 61 per cent. for reaction. Time and spade work will tell.

We note from "Town and Country News" that our old friend, Mr. S. J. Gee, Labour Party Agent at North Norfolk, has been in the limelight. An interesting sketch of Mr. Gee's career is given in the August issue of the journal mentioned, and a handsome photograph of Mr. Gee in his office is reproduced.

HULL CITY LABOUR PARTY

Dear Comrade,

.....193

NOMINATION FOR OFFICE OF PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVE.

Enclosed please find Official Nomination Form, which must be completed and returned to the Secretary not later than.....

The Hull City Labour Party desire to impress upon all Affiliated Organisations the importance of selecting candidates for any Office of Public Representative with the greatest regard for the essential qualifications of capacity, an adequate knowledge of the principles of the Party, and proven enthusiasm for the objects of the Labour Movement.

Service in the Movement should always be given full consideration in adjudicating upon the claims of members who aspire to serve it in Public positions. The credit of the Party is largely in the hands of its Public Representatives, and the fulfilment of its mission mainly depends upon their integrity and ability, so that the importance of the most careful discrimination in the selection of candidates cannot be over-rated.

Yours fraternally,

.....*President,*
.....*Secretary,*
.....*for the Executive Committee.*

HULL CITY LABOUR PARTY. Nomination for Office of Public Representative.

NAME IN FULL	AGE	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION	POSITION FOR WHICH NOMINATED	NOMINATED BY

Particulars of Financial support available for Candidate.

The particulars set out on this **completed** form were placed before a properly constituted meeting of the above organisation on the.....day of.....
193 and the nomination duly endorsed.

.....Secretary.
Date..... Address.....

To be filled in by the Person nominated.

TRADE UNION.....

Length of Membership.....

Particulars as to Positions held, activities, etc.

LABOUR PARTY SECTION.....

Length of Membership.....

Particulars as to Positions held, activities, etc.

Declaration.—I accept nomination for Public Office and undertake, if elected, to act in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the National Labour Party.

Date..... Signed.....

Little Acts of Parliament

THE PUBLIC MEETING ACT, 1908.

(8 Edw. 7, c. 66.)

An Act to prevent disturbance of Public Meetings.

(21st December, 1908.)

(Preamble.)

1. PENALTY ON ENDEAVOUR TO BREAK UP PUBLIC MEETING.

Any person who at a lawful public meeting acts in a disorderly manner for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called together shall be guilty of an offence, and, if the offence is committed at a political meeting held in any Parliamentary constituency between the date of the issue of a writ for the return of a Member of Parliament for such constituency and the date at which a return to such writ is made, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice within the meaning of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, and in any other case shall, on summary conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds, or to imprisonment not exceeding one month.

- (2) Any person who incites others to commit an offence under this section shall be guilty of a like offence.

2. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the Public Meeting Act, 1908.

THE AUDIT (LOCAL AUTHORITIES) ACT, 1927.

(17 & 18 Geo. 5, c. 31.)

An Act to amend the law with respect to the effect of surcharges by district auditors, appeals from decisions of district auditors, and the recovery of sums certified to be due by district auditors.

(22nd December, 1927.)

(Preamble.)

1. DISQUALIFICATION OF PERSONS SURCHARGED MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS.

- (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, every person who, at any audit, has been surcharged with an amount exceeding five hundred pounds by a district auditor shall for a period of five years commencing at the expiration of the period allowed for making an appeal or application with respect to the surcharge under the provisions of this Act or, if such an appeal or application is made, commencing on the date on which such an appeal is finally disposed of or abandoned or fails by reason of the non-prosecution thereof, be disqualified for being elected or appointed or being a member of any local authority, and if he is a member of a local authority his office shall thereupon become vacant.

Provided that this section shall not apply to a surcharge in respect of any expenditure or loss incurred before the thirty-first day of October, nineteen hundred and twenty-seven.

- (2) Where more than one-third of the members of a local authority become disqualified at the same time by virtue of this Act, then until the number of the members in office is increased to no less than two-thirds of the full number of members of the local authority—

(a) The quorum of the local authority shall be determined by reference to the number of the members of the local authority remaining qualified instead of by reference to the full number of members of the local authority;

(b) No provision preventing a returning officer holding an election to fill a casual vacancy shall apply to any vacancy in the office of members of that local authority.

- (3) If any person acts as a member of any local authority when disqualified under this section, he shall for each offence be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds.